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EDITORIAL

The State And The African Revolution

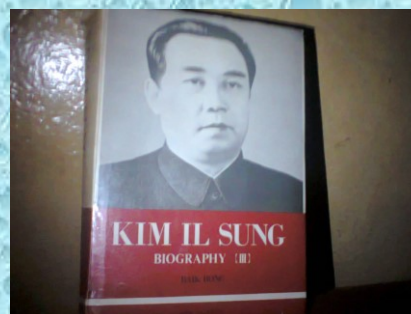
The State is defined as the exploitative organ for holding down exploited classes in a country's political economy. It is a dictatorship. The established State in the socialist transition, as a non-exploitative organ for ending exploitation, is thus not a State in the proper sense.

But whether the State is the exploitative type or not it assumes different *forms* in different societies or in the same society. Hence, a capitalist State takes either the form of a fascist dictatorship or a liberal democracy *essentially* dedicated to maintaining and reproducing the *existing* exploitative system. That is capitalist or *bourgeois dictatorship*.

A socialist State, on its part, has historically taken the form of Soviet-type *bureaucratic dictatorship* or Chinese *new democracy* or Korean *charismatic dictatorship*. These variously express working class or *proletarian dictatorship*. While the Soviet-type's leadership is alienated from the masses, the other two rally them around the leadership.

Proletarian dictatorship is expressly affirmed by the Korean variety which *consciously checks* the development of bourgeois property. The Chinese deny proletarian dictatorship but the working class is asserted to be the leader of a coalition of classes exercising State power in a democratic revolution that *boosts* development of bourgeois property over a period. Mao Tsetung's report *On Coalition Government*, April 24 1945, explains.

In execution of the socialist African Revolution, Revolutionary Pan-Africanism, under Marxist-Nkrumaist guide, projects a form of proletarian dictatorship that steadily encourages collective property while *discouraging* and *not assisting* the developing of bourgeois property in the new State.



In Defence Of Marxism- Nkrumaism

A Response To Bob Brown – A
Certain Messianic Revisionist
(Part One)

IN DEFENCE OF MARXISM- NKRUMAISM

**A Response To Bob Brown – A
Certain Messianic Revisionist
(Part One)**

**Lang T. K. A. Nubuor
Director, Centre for Conscientist Studies and
Analyses**

It is not a dream, it is a simple feat of scientific electrical engineering, only expensive — blind, faint-hearted, doubting world! [...] Humanity is not yet sufficiently advanced to be willingly led by the discoverer's keen searching sense. But who knows? Perhaps it is better in this present world of ours that a revolutionary idea or invention instead of being helped and patted, be hampered and ill-treated in its adolescence — by want of means, by selfish interest, pedantry, stupidity and ignorance; that it be attacked and stifled; that it pass through bitter trials and tribulations, through the strife of commercial existence. So do we get our light. So all that was great in the past was ridiculed, condemned, combatted, suppressed — only to emerge all the more powerfully, all the more triumphantly from the struggle. – Nikola Tesla

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A WORD FROM THE AUTHOR



The Author

Obviously, the Korean Revolution, with its new Juche philosophy, represents *originality* in the application of the Marxist principle of the Commune Spirit that Karl Marx abstracts from what Vladimir Ilyich Lenin describes as the 'Paris Commune experiment'. By this, the daring Paris proletariat temporarily abolishes the bourgeois state and replaces it with what is not a state proper – the dictatorship of the proletariat. This latter fails because it is not determined enough, due to its inexperience, to resolutely crush the bourgeois class resistance. The Korean Revolution, *in principle*, develops on the Paris Commune initiative by successfully re-enacting *that* Spirit with greater vim and fortitude in the dire conditions of imperialist-assailed Korea.

This historic confirmation that that initiative is not a fluke in history teaches all working people of the world that the heroism of the Korean people makes an incomparable contribution to the working people's ideological and philosophical weapon – Marxism. Let no fifth columnist deflect their attention from the scientific validity of Marxism but rather be encouraged, like our Korean comrades, to apply its principles to their revolutionary endeavours in their own theatres of struggle. In this respect, working people all over the world deserve to learn from the Korean experience that neither the abandonment nor dogmatic and formalist application of Marxism in their theatres of struggle is the way to go but its *creative* application.

Hence, for us in Africa, where neo-colonialism reigns today, Dr. Nkrumah's application of Marxist principles to the African reality to generate the particularist philosophy of Marxism-Nkrumaism to guide the young African Revolution deserves our attention, study, development and use to realize the emancipation of the African as part of the World Socialist Revolution. The on-going reactionary effort by some very ill-informed African-Americans to de-stool Dr. Nkrumah's set unitary ideological system of Marxism-Nkrumaism from its elegant pedestal of Marxism in favour of an eclectic Nkrumahism-Toureism deserves to be met with such determined offensive and defence posture as would cripple that effort at its roots. We are never to give in to those Messianic Revisionists.

Ours, being a *neo-colonial situation* analysed by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in its *specificity*, requires that in the Spirit of the Paris Commune – as neatly exemplified and concretized in the Korean Revolution under Kim Il Sung's Marxist-based Juche philosophy – the African working people cleave under the banner of Marxism-Nkrumaism to crush imperialism, neo-colonialism and capitalism in Africa to build an authentically independent and flourishing set socialist society deflated of any neo-colonial capitalist protagonist.

Be Focused, Determined and Bold!
Forward Ever! Onward to the African Revolution!

A SNAPSHOT

A certain Bob Brown invites us, upon the publication of the *Journal of Marxism-Nkrumaism* on December 31, 2014, to read Kim Jong Il's paper *The Juche Philosophy is an Original Revolutionary Philosophy* and a talk *The Historical Lesson in Building Socialism and the General Line of our Party*. Bob Brown, who repeatedly says that he is not a Marxist and must simply be seen as an Nkrumahist-Toureist, seeks by that invitation to call our attention to so-called Korean critique of Marxism-Leninism and, by implied intention, Marxism since Kim Jong Il's paper is in direct reference to Marxism. In Brown's utter ideologico-philosophically anaemic Nkrumahism-Toureism, Marxism and Marxism-Leninism are barred. Nkrumahist-Toureists known to us agree with him on this.

Our reading of those references in the light of two volumes of the works of Kim Il Sung, Founder of the Juche philosophy and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), suggests to us that contrary to Brown's implied but uncritical understanding Juche philosophy is not divorced from either Marxism or Marxism-Leninism. Beyond those references, delving into the works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels and Vladimir Lenin as well as Kim Il Sung, we find that Juche philosophy is anchored in Marxism and Marxism-Leninism. In this paper, we illustrate Marxism as a *universal* philosophy and Marxism-Leninism as a *particular* application of it in the Russian milieu. We make references to others like Maoism as similar particular applications of Marxism.

We proceed to illustrate Marxism in its *universal* and European *particular* dimensions. This shows us that certain principles of Marxism are *specific* to European society and cannot be applied to societies that do not exhibit particular features of that society – a feature like its inherent imperialist drive is an example. Marxism, *additionally*, exhibits certain principles that are applicable to *every* society whatever their stage or phase of development. Such are the universal principles of materialist dialectics or dialectical materialism and the materialist conception of history or historical materialism which are *exclusively* Marxist conceptions. Out of these basic dialectical materialist principles are derived the Marxist law of nature and law of history or law of society.

On the basis of this analysis we show Kim Il Sung's application of the Marxist *universals* to the *specific* Korean situation to generate Juche philosophy to guide revolution and construction in the DPRK. Attempts in the said references to divorce Juche from those Marxist universals are shown to be ambivalent. Ambivalence of such nature is then resolved to restore Juche unto its definite Marxist and Marxist-Leninist foundations. These efforts precede our defence of Marxism-Nkrumaism as a *similar* derivative from Marxist application. Part Two of this paper focuses on the futile attempts to divorce Marxism from Marxism-Nkrumaism to set it in the form of an anaemic Nkrumahism-Toureism and other forms of Nkrumaism bereft of Marxist associations and revolutionary force.

Limitations Of This Paper

This paper would have been more helpful if *all* the volumes of Kim Il Sung's books were available to us as they were in 1982. Historical tragedy, leading to our leaving all those books behind when we were advised to leave on exile in that year, placed most of the books in the hands of unknown persons who were convinced that they were our inheritors. In the circumstance, this paper could benefit from only two of those volumes, 9 and 10, as could be seen in the footnote references. This tragedy was not attenuated by the unavailability of those volumes on the internet. All the same we believe that Kim Il Sung's views remain consistent throughout the entire volumes.

The availability of *The Talk* on the internet encouraged us to be less liberal in our direct citations from it; more especially when it could have been reduced to less than half of its length. This might seem unfair in point of the fact that Kim Jong Il's paper, which is also on the internet, had more citations made from it though it is of a shorter length. We might be excused here for the simple reason that Kim Jong Il's paper seems to us to be richer in content on the issue we were asked to reflect on.

And since this paper is in two parts we have reserved for the second part details of our view that, just like Juche philosophy, Nkrumaism is a particularity of Marxism, the universal philosophy, and makes a contribution to it. In the light of similar attempts to divorce it from Marxism, we have preferred to stick to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's reported reference, by June Milne, to it as 'Marxism-Nkrumaism'. This first part only prepares the grounds for the substantive defence of Marxism-Nkrumaism in the second part.

Tema, Ghana.

January 27, 2015 – June 21, 2015

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IN DEFENCE OF MARXISM-NKRUMAISM

**A Response To Bob Brown – A Certain Messianic
Revisionist**

By

Lang T. K. A. Nubuor
(Director, Centre for Consciencist Studies and
Analyses – CENCSA)



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah – Founder of Marxism-Nkrumaism

Establishment of Juche means that Marxist-Leninist theory is applied creatively to conform to the realities of the Korean revolution.

We study Marxist-Leninist theory for the purpose of applying and developing it creatively to suit every stage of the Korean revolution. Carrying out the Korean revolution well means at the same time accomplishing a part of the world revolution. Therefore, establishing Juche does not in the least contradict but rather contributes to internationalism.

Kim Il Sung (*Founder of the Juche Philosophy*), **Works, Vol. 10**, p. 305

Through their own lives our people have acquired the conviction that socialism alone can eliminate every manner of domination, subjugation and social inequality and provide them with genuine freedom and equality and a happy and worthwhile life, and that socialism is the only way for the people to realize their ideal of independence.

Korean Friendship Association, **The Historical Lesson In Building Socialism And The General Line Of Our Party – Talk to the Senior Officials of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea**, January 3, 1992 <http://www.korea-dpr.com/>

A Narrative Of Antecedents *In Lieu Of An Introduction To This Paper*

Within three hours upon the publication of the *Journal of Marxism-Nkrumaism* on December 31, 2014 at 2.23 a.m., the All-Africa People's Revolutionary Party – Guinea Conakry (A-APRP-GC) issued two comments on December 31, 2014 at 5.23 a.m. and 6.00 a.m. on our Facebook timeline, respectively. While the initial comment entreated us to read an article, 'The Juche Philosophy Is an Original Revolutionary Philosophy', the second posed a question to us. The two are here reproduced from the timeline thus:



A-aprp GC Please read a North Korean independent revolutionary-socialist critical analysis of Marxism-Leninism and the North Korean view on some problems and conditions which lead to the development of new and original revolutionary ideologies at the link listed below.

The Juche Philosophy Is an Original Revolutionary Philosophy
<http://www.korea-dpr.com/lib/108.pdf>

Kim Jong-il Theoretical Magazine of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea

July 26, 1996

31 December 2014 at 05:23 · Unlike · 1



A-aprp GC Have the North Koreans earned their right to speak, analyse, and develop independent revolutionary ideology to guide their socialist development? Read their analysis here: <http://www.korea-dpr.com/lib/Kim%20Jong%2011%20-%206%20THE%20HISTORICAL%20LESSON%20IN%20BUILDING%20SOCIALISM%20AND%20THE%20GENERAL%20LINE%20OUR%20PARTY.pdf>

31 December 2014 at 06:00 · Unlike · 1

In response to these, which were aimed at questioning our categorization of the thought and practice of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah as Marxism-Nkrumaism in accord with his reported resort to that

categorization, we addressed the A-APRP (GC) in the following set terms without our having first read the papers cited:



Lang Nubuor

A-aprp GC, thanks for your input.

We are also students of the DPRK experience. In fact, we led a Ghanaian delegation to the DPRK in April, 1982. We were witnesses to her creative application of the principles of Marxism to the Korean reality. And we returned with a complete set of the books written by its leader, Kim Il Sung.

Reading those books gives us a practical illustration of how to apply Marxist principles to analyse local reality for an independent understanding of that reality.

Inspired by that understanding we appreciate Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's redefinition of Afrocentricity as underscored by application of set scientific laws of motion of African society.

But the formulation of such principles is based on application of Marxist principles which are as universally applicable as the principles of physics and chemistry. Just as the application of the principles of physics makes no exclusive claim to their particularization to the local situation so as not to be relevant to other localities so do the principles of Marxism claim universality in their application.

In other words, particular applications of universal principles to specific localities generate different results. It is from such particular experiences that the universal principles are creatively tested and enhanced. Not to apply the universal principles but import other people's results in their applications without local validation is the practice of the unscientific mind.

Yes, Africa needs to apply universal principles independently to generate local results and to contribute to the enhancement of those principles across the world. Independence in applications does not suggest independence from the universals. That was Dr. Nkrumah's source of intellectual strength in his deep understanding of the African reality.

His grasp and application of Marxist principles in Africa placed him centuries ahead of other African leaders.

Remain Focused, Determined and Bold! Forward Ever!
Onward to the African Revolution!

31 December 2014 at 12:30 · Like



Lang Nubuo And A-aprp, in the DPRK experience the Juche Idea is based on the application of the principles of Marxism. It connotes the anti-imperialist spirit of self-reliance and more.

31 December 2014 at 12:45 · Like

(A few typos have been corrected here in this reproduction.)

Apart from these interactions on Facebook, we circulated the *Journal of Marxism-Nkrumaism* through an e-mail. The e-mail got to the CPPNORTHAMERICA group, and to many others, with the following note attached:

30/12/2014

Comrades & Friends,

THE JOURNAL OF MARXISM-NKRUMAISM IS OUT!

Please, find attached here the first edition of the Journal of Marxism-Nkrumaism.

It is published by the Centre for Conscientist Studies and Analyses (CENCSA).

It is our hope that the New Year finds all forces of the African Revolution well. Have a Happy New Year!

It is also our sincerest expectation that the Year 2015 begins as the year in which the serious study of Dr, Kwame Nkrumah's thought and practice commences from the Marxist perspective.

Nkrumah never dies!

Fraternal Regards.

Lang T. K.A. Nubuo
Director of the Centre for Conscientist Studies and Analyses (CENCSA)

This reference to 'Marxism' again occasioned a response from Bob Brown, the livewire of the A-APRP (GC). That response was

brief but contained a reproduced content similar to that from the A-APRP (GC) on the Facebook timeline. It ran thus:

On 30 December 2014 at 22:45,
bbrown1984@yahoo.com [cppnorthamerica]
<cppnorthamerica@yahoogroups.com> wrote:

Also please read a North Korean independent revolutionary-socialist critical analysis of Marxism-Leninism and the North Korean view on some problems and conditions which lead to the development of new and original revolutionary ideologies at the link listed below.

[The Juche Philosophy is an Original Revolutionary Philosophy](#)

Kim Jong Il
Theoretical Magazine of the Central Committee of the
Workers' Party of Korea July 26, 1996
Posted by: bbrown1984@yahoo.com

Certainly, the date difference has everything to do with international dateline differentials. But what we found interesting was that the A-APRP (GC) that commented on our timeline bore the same date for the date of its creation of that Facebook page (30/12/2014) as that of the e-mail cited above. That page, as at this moment of writing (1/2/2015), has no post and no 'friend'.

Whatever the purpose behind the operation of that specially created FB timeline and having noted the rather constant reference to 'Marxism-Leninism' in the A-APRP (GC) and Bob Brown responses but not to 'Marxism' as we did in our references, we responded to the Bob Brown e-mail as follows:

LANG T.K.A. NUBUOR Cencsa cencsa2011@gmail.com
to CPP

Dear Comrades and Friends,

We have read [The Juche Philosophy Is an Original Revolutionary Philosophy](#) and will make an informed reaction to it later.

It is necessary to observe here beforehand that we find it as a reaction to DPRK social scientists who, even under the Presidency of Kim Il Sung, held the Juche Idea to be a development of Marxism.

In our reaction, we intend to point out that there is, first, a difference between **Marxism** as a **universal** philosophy and **Marxism-Leninism** as a **particular** application of Marxism in Russia.

We intend, secondly, to address the critical observations on aspects of Marxism that the late Kim Jong Il makes in his eleven-page paper. We understand those observations to be rotating **principally** around the application of materialist dialectics to nature and society.

We find certain moments of difficulties and tensions in Kim Jong Il's observations.

It is our conviction that while our position generally coincides with the paper's understanding that Marxism-Leninism is a **particular** derivative from the analysis of Russian social reality and that every people need to undertake an **independent** analysis of **their** society, just as Maoism and Juche Idea do, it is mistaken to divorce the universal principles from their particular application.

We shall suggest that the critical re-evaluation of the universal principles of Marxist philosophy, with an intention to address certain grey areas of it, is a legitimate undertaking to **update** them in the light of new scientific exploits. This is particularly so when the basic principles of Marxism are upheld.

We shall also suggest that the **elaboration** of certain positions, like **humanism** (that is, the assertion of the centrality of Man in the transformation of society in its interaction with nature), held or even implied in Marxist philosophy only amounts to its development but not its **refutation**.

It is on the basis of these suggestions that we hold **Marxism-Nkrumaism** as a particular derivative from the application of the universal principles of Marxist philosophy to the African reality.

Subsequently, in the course of this year, we shall find out how certain varieties of the thought and practice of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, such as Nkrumahism-Toureism, stand the test of their historical and theoretico-scientific claims within the context of the best standards and practices of philosophy and science.

Nothing but the need to **harmonize** our understanding of the thought and practice of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah across the African continent and beyond in the direction of the African Revolution is our singular motivation in the whole exercise.

Petite-bourgeois opportunism and charlatanism – together with their presumptions of Messianism – must not be given any breathing space now or ever! Forward Ever!

From the foregoing narrative, it appears to us that there is a *universal strategic error* that conflates 'Marxism' with 'Marxism-

Leninism'¹ such that certain perceived inequities of the latter in its particularity are visited upon the former in its universality *as well*. We suggest that a philosophic and/or scientific appreciation of the difference between the two isms and how they relate to each other is bound to dissolve the suspicion that the application of Marxism in *other* social milieu, apart from the Russian or Soviet, necessarily connotes the employment or even importation of *all* elements in Marxism-Leninism and Marxist-Leninist practice.

In our defence of Marxism-Nkrumaism, we pay particular attention to that difference. And that is a difference between a universal principle (Marxism) and its particular applications in different societies that are at *different* levels of their development. Our appreciation of the centrality of the dialectics of universality and particularity in this discourse surely facilitates our understanding of how universalities generate particularities and how particularities enrich universalities just as how particularities generate other particularities which also enrich them.

Only in the context of the latter, for instance, can we appreciate Kim Il Sung when he speaks of Juche Idea/Philosophy as an application of Marxist-Leninist theory. A critique of Marxism-Leninism from the Juche standpoint is also better appreciated within the context of particularities enriching other particularities. And, in these processes, we are bound to see how Juche, a particularity, also enriches Marxism, the universal, and thus contributes to its development. Marxism-Nkrumaism is similarly appreciated as a particularity that derives from Marxist universality and relates to other particularities. With materialist dialectics *nothing is unconnected*.

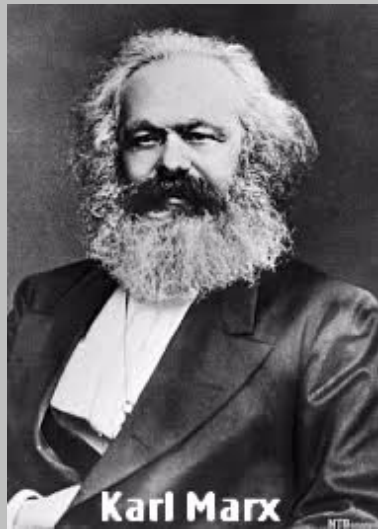
2

Dimensions of Marxism – Its Universality And European Particularity

Marxist philosophy employs certain concepts in its analysis of social reality. The grasp of such concepts is important in any discourse on its universality and particularity. Of immediate significance are the concepts of 'natural' and 'voluntary'. In its

¹ Kim Jong Il, for instance, after referring to Lenin's creative development of Marxism goes on to talk about *Marxism-Leninism* being '*originated by Marx and developed by Lenin*'. Was Marx ever aware of Lenin who was thirteen years old when he died and who had not yet written a word in philosophy then? This is how Kim Jong Il's paragraph flows: 'Lenin took over the cause of Marx and propounded Leninism by developing Marxism creatively to suit the new historical conditions in the period of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Thanks to Leninism the October Socialist Revolution emerged victorious and the first state of proletarian dictatorship was born. *Marxism-Leninism, the working class' revolutionary ideology originated by Marx and developed by Lenin*, gave a strong impetus to the revolutionary struggle of the international working class and the cause of the popular masses for liberation'. See Kim Jong Il, *Let Us Advance Under The Banner Of Marxism-Leninism And The Juche Idea – On the Occasion of the 165th Birthday of Karl Marx and the Centenary of His Death May 3 1983*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang, Korea, 1983, (<http://www.korea-dpr.com/>) p.5 (Italics added)

phraseological use of 'natural evolution of society'², Marxism presents 'natural' as that which, *though* is the result of man's *will* and *action* or a series of such by man, is not, in fact, as *intended* or *planned* by him. And the series of results is all as if the actions taken to produce it, by their *coherence*³, were *by an uncontrollable alien force* that plans it – all this leading to the evolution of an entire society through phases and stages in a way *not chosen* or planned by man.⁴



Hence, in the *natural* state of society man's *exercise* of his will and action produces situations he *does not plan* for; consequently, his own material creations in the productive forces come to dominate and determine his actions. This *natural state of society* is understood by Marx and Engels not *biologically* but as one whereby 'development takes place *spontaneously*, i.e., *is not subordinated to a general plan of freely combined individuals*, it proceeds from localities, tribes, nations, branches of labour, etc., each of which to start with develops independently of the others and only gradually enters into relation with the others.'⁵ Let's get to details.

This is to ease our understanding: Marx and Engels (hereinafter just referred to as 'Marxists') state that 'Individuals have always proceeded from themselves, but of course from themselves *within* their *given historical conditions and relations*, not from the "pure" individual in the sense of the ideologists'.⁶ This means that each individual is being conceived here as a real person who is found in and as connected to the immediate real socio-historical situation which includes the relations into which he is born and

² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, 'The German Ideology', *Collected Works*, Volume 5, (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976) p.47

³ Ibid. p.82 Marx and Engels define 'coherence' here within the context of the following long sentence: 'These various conditions, which appear first as conditions of self-activity, later as fetters upon it, form in the whole development of history a coherent series of forms of intercourse, the coherence of which consists in this: an earlier form of intercourse, which has become a fetter, is replaced by a new one corresponding to the more developed productive forces and hence, to the advanced mode of the self-activity of individuals – a form which in its turn becomes a fetter and is replaced by another.'

⁴ Ibid. pp.47-48 All italics are added.

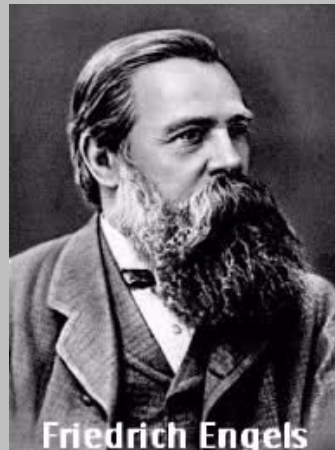
⁵ Ibid. p.83. Italics are added.

⁶ Ibid. p.78 All italics are added.

bred.⁷ *That individual inherits that situation in which he works for self-survival. We are not talking about an abstract individual.*

The said situation is stated as the individual's *conditions of existence*. Together with such conditions he has his *labour*, for instance, as his *condition of life*.⁸ But he has no control over these conditions as an individual. Other individuals are also, in their individualities, similarly disadvantaged. That means that for all these individuals, the conditions 'have become something extraneous, something over which they, as separate individuals, have no control, and over which no *social* organisation can give them control'.⁹ What precisely are these conditions of existence? Are they *biological* elements of nature or *social* creations or both?

When Marxists refer to 'their condition of existence – movable property and craft labour'¹⁰, they make of 'movable property' and 'craft labour' items of conditions of existence. When they also say that 'These conditions of existence are, of course, only the productive forces and forms of intercourse at any particular time'¹¹, they enlarge the items as 'productive forces'¹² and 'forms of intercourse'. At the same page, most importantly, they describe them as '*inorganic conditions*' which were 'naturally evolved premises as the *creations of hitherto existing men*'. Certainly, these *naturally evolved inorganic creations of men* are not *biological* constructs but products of man's *social* activity.



Additionally, by inference, the 'conditions of existence' is referred to by Marxists as 'material conditions'¹³ such that the two phrases can be understood to have identity in meaning. This connotes that since the conditions of existence are seen to be *inorganic*, and, therefore, *non-biological*, so should we understand

⁷ This means that each generation finds its conditions of existence or conditions of life *already* created by the *preceding* generation which does that naturally (that is, 'naturally' as presented by Marxists). At p.54 we find references like these: 'This sum of productive forces, capital funds and social forms of intercourse, which every individual and every generation *finds in existence* as something *given*' and 'These conditions of life, which different generations *find in existence*'. All italics are added.

⁸ Ibid. p.79

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid. p.81

¹² Ibid. p.76 Other elements or components of the productive forces are cited on this page as 'machinery', 'natural forces', 'water-supplies', 'gas-lighting', and 'steam-heating'.

¹³ Ibid

material conditions in *inorganic* or *non-biological* terms. Hence, in the formulation of the materialist conception of history, Marxists should not be seen to use 'material' in any *biological* sense. This is in spite of the fact that *organic* raw materials are considered elements of productive forces but only in their *harvested, dead* state. Talking about 'natural', therefore, they are not talking about *biological nature*.

For Marxists, therefore, the natural state of society¹⁴ is *not* a *permanent* state – unlike *biological nature* whose appearance of permanence seems to belie its relatively slower evolution – but an era that comes to an end with man assuming control over his creations in the conditions of existence during the era of communism. Under communism, the former state of affairs is turned upside down; society is shorn off its *natural* character and man's creations in the conditions of existence no longer have an independence from the united individuals who now live in a condition of unity.¹⁵

A *voluntary* act, in Marxism, therefore, has a higher philosophic and scientific utility. It does not merely connote an action which is taken *without compulsion* but more significantly that that action *yields* the *intended* result within social space and time. Thus, in Marxism the correspondence of *intent* with *realization* gives the *voluntary* a special meaning and distinguishes it from the *natural*. In this respect, no one is in error seeing the *natural* as the *spontaneous* and the *voluntary* as the *planned*. The *natural* marks an era of *spontaneity*, when man is *not* in control of his creations, while the *voluntary* marks an era with man in control of his creations.

That leads to the concepts of the *subjective* and the *objective*. Briefly put, Marxist philosophy renders as *objective* the totality of the *environment* within which man makes a living; whereas the *subjective* consists in the totality of man himself together with his consciousness and actions and reactions on the environment. In the era of spontaneity, when *natural* evolution of society unfolds and man is rather controlled by his creations, the *objective* dominates the *subjective*. On the contrary, in the era of planning,

¹⁴ Elsewhere, in a Preface to a German edition of Karl Marx's *Capital*, Vol. 1, Engels explains further that in the criss-cross of conflicting individual wills no one of such individuals realizes their aim and thus what transpires is a result that none of them thought of or had wished for. But the realized result, a compromise, becomes the basis upon which subsequent actions are taken to produce yet another result that was also not intended. In this sense, Marxism holds man's actions as not *voluntary*.

¹⁵ Ibid. p.81 Paragraphing altered. All italics are added.

when man controls his creations, the *subjective* enjoys dominance over the *objective*. This latter marks the liberation of man.^{16,17}

In its universality, Marxism sums up certain universal laws of the motion of nature and of *every* society in their development; while, in its particularity, it sums up the *specificity* of the European experience. As a universal philosophy, it is not only manifested in metaphysics, epistemology and ethics but also in political philosophy as well as political economy. In all these spheres of human intellectual endeavour and on the premise of the *constancy of change* in nature and society, Marxism relentlessly re-evaluates its universal laws of *nature* and *society* in conformity with the development of the physical sciences and social praxis.

As a universal philosophy, it is an instrument of scientific socialist and communist ideology¹⁸ for the emancipation of Man; man not as an *abstraction* but as *real* man living by the *dictates* of the *inherited* living and pulsating social conditions *from which* he seeks *liberation* to make *voluntary* choices. *No human society* is immune to this initial enslavement and subjection to the conditions of its existence *from which* it seeks its freedom to control itself and nature. This is the most basic universal principle of Marxist philosophy in its appreciation of social reality.¹⁹ Its application outside Europe, like that of the law of gravitation, connotes its *holding true everywhere else*.

In man's *current* circumstances of being enslaved to the dictates of his conditions of existence, which conditions he creates *naturally* and not *voluntarily* but which 'become an alien power opposed to him',²⁰ Marxism conceives him not only as primarily a product of a 'naturally evolving society ... which enslaves him instead of being controlled by him'.²¹ It also projects an era when 'men once more gain control'²² of these conditions of existence 'and the way they behave to one another'.²³ This materialist conception of history, according to Marx and Engels, 'shows that circumstances make men just as much as men make circumstances'.²⁴

¹⁶ Marx and Engels, op cit pp.51-52 Italics are added.

¹⁷ Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring (Herr Dühring's Revolution in Science)*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1976, pp.366-367 All italics are added.

¹⁸ Though as a science it is not restricted to this ideology.

¹⁹ Marx and Engels, op cit, p.51-52

²⁰ Ibid p.47

²¹ Ibid

²² Ibid p.48

²³ Ibid

²⁴ Ibid p.54

Thus in the consideration of the social reality of other particular societies this Marxist understanding is *applied*. Since different people are at different stages and phases of development out of their *naturally* evolved societies, it stands to reason that such applications generate different form and content *specific* to each. It is thus erroneous to assert the *independence* of the generated form and content from the universal understanding or principle thus *applied*. The attainment of a state of the *subjective* factors in society assuming *dominance* over the *objective* factors is the only state that negates the universal principle mentioned here.

For, in the state of a *naturally* evolving society the objective factors rule over the estate of man. Only when man assumes *control* over nature and society and is, therefore, able to *voluntarily* determine his *choices* (but not what natural evolution offers him) could it be said that the previous universal principle is overturned and replaced by a new and opposite universal principle. And this process of replacement might first appear in a particular society before it matures in other societies. Until the new process engulfs the world as a whole it remains a *local* phenomenon. The old just ceases to operate in that locality *only*.

Marxism exhibits its *particularity* in the *application of its universal principles* to the *European* social reality. European society, in the era of Marx's and Engels' intellectual and political praxis, was already a full-fledged capitalist society with the manifest existence of a bourgeoisie and a proletariat at each other's throat in contention for class dominance. All other classes were then subordinated to the general dominance of the struggles between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. These features of European capitalist society were *specific to it*. But within the latter, development was uneven. Britain, France and Germany were examples.

Since the passing away of Marx and Engels, efforts have been made to continue their endeavours at updating the analysis of *European* society to track down its current dynamics. Within the works²⁵ of Marx and Engels in European political economy we already find the inherent tendency of capitalism in European society to expand beyond its borders if it is to survive its self-generative problems in the area of accumulation by capitalization lest it implodes. The supportive process of accumulation by appropriation is also found to be a peculiar European (and by

²⁵ Karl Marx, *Theories of Surplus-Value, Volume IV of Capital*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1963

extension, Western) capitalist tendency. These are laws *particular* to the West.

In this light, to apply these *particular* laws of European/Western capitalism to, say, Africa's political economy is to commit a methodological absurdity. African society is basically a neo-colonial society whose drive at accumulation by capitalization is not only in its infancy but, true to say, is decisively constrained in its dependence on the dictates of Western capitalism which, therefore, encloses it. This means that Western *particularity* has not yet assumed the form of a *universal* phenomenon. That Western society is *imperialistic*, we are observing, is a *particularity* of that society. That exhibits Marxism in its European *particularity*, that is, as an explanation of the dynamics of European society.

3

The Marxist Dialectics Of The Universal And The Particular

Shot through the entire edifice of the Marxist thought system is its philosophy of materialist dialectics. This philosophy manifests both in nature and society. In this section, we focus on how materialist dialectics plays out in the relation between the universal and the particular in Marxist thought. That play-out shows how the universal develops through the particular in its application to generate the particular. Hence, we would see how in the application of Marxist philosophy in its universal dimension it generates Marxism-Leninism, Maoism, Juche and Marxism-Nkrumaism as its particularities which in turn enrich and develop it as a universal.

Since both the A-APRP (GC) and Bob Brown use the same arrangement of words to urge us to 'read a North Korean independent revolutionary-socialist critical analysis of Marxism-Leninism and the North Korean view on some problems and conditions which lead to the development of new and original revolutionary ideologies' we focus on the development of the North Korean Juche philosophy to illustrate the application of Marxist philosophy in its universal dimension *and* Marxism-Leninism in its particularity to generate Juche which in turn enriches both Marxism and Marxism-Leninism in their development as a universality and a particularity, respectively; that is, before dealing with the said critical analysis.

To begin with, let us note that the attempt to dissociate Marxism from Marxism-Nkrumaism is not, historically, an isolated event. In the course of the development of Juche, and even before it, its founder²⁶, Kim Il Sung, persistently refers to the Japanese imperialists who 'In an attempt to numb the revolutionary consciousness of the Korean working masses ... used crude measures to stop the spread of advanced ideas and, in particular, resorted to all manner of evil false propaganda, slander and vilification against the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideology and theory. Moreover, the dissemination of "Marxist literature", intentionally distorted by the Japanese imperialists, had a harmful effect on our intelligentsia.'²⁷



At p. 218 of the cited work, Kim Il Sung refers to Korean revolutionaries as 'We Marxists'. He elaborates on this at p.222 where he says that 'We study Marxist theory, outlook and methods and the experience fraternal parties have gained in their revolutionary struggles *in order to analyse correctly the problems of the revolution and political and economic questions in our country and use them as a guide to action in our own struggle.*' (Italics added). Again at

p. 237, we read him refer to the use of 'the scientific Marxist method'.²⁸

That was on Marxism and its *creative* but not *dogmatic* application. Before dealing with the problem of dogmatism, let's proceed to the relation between Juche and Marxism-Leninism. In this respect, Kim Il Sung is quick to assert that 'On the basic propositions of Marx and Engels, Lenin put forward the scientific theory on the national and colonial questions in the era of imperialism, in the new historical situation. It holds an important place in Leninism'.²⁹

²⁶ Korean Friendship Association, *The Historical Lesson In Building Socialism And The General Line Of Our Party – Talk to the Senior Officials of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea*, January 3, 1992 p.9. <http://www.korea-dpr.com/>

²⁷ Kim Il Sung, 'On Intensifying Class Education For Party Members – A Report at a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea' April 1, 1955, *Works, Volume 9*, (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang, Korea 1982) pp.215-216.

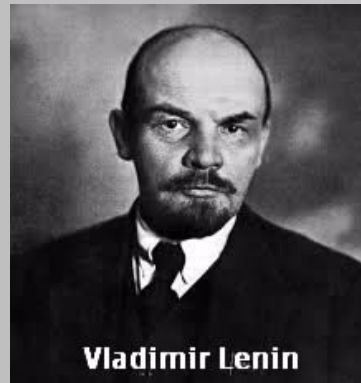
²⁸ Ibid pp.246-247

²⁹ Kim Il Sung, 'Lenin's Theory Is Our Guidance – Article Published on the Occasion of the 85th Anniversary of Lenin's Birth' April 15, 1955, *Works, Volume 9*, (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang, Korea 1982) pp.266.

This *founds* Marxism-Leninism on Marxism. Kim Il Sung is here careful to refer to Marxism in terms of its '*basic propositions*' or *universal principles (universality)*.

In using phrases like 'The invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism'³⁰ or just 'banner of Marxism-Leninism'³¹ and 'the all-conquering ideology of Marxism-Leninism'³², Kim Il Sung decorates Marxism-Leninism with powerful titles. And this is not for the purpose of exhibiting pedestrian love; but in expression of the closer proximity of Marxism-Leninism to a Korean social reality where, like its Russian neighbour, the proletariat is in its infancy in a feudal political economy with Marxism, *in its European particularity*, being scientifically *less* appropriate an application – unlike within the European situation where capitalism holds sway.

In spite of the close proximity of Marxism-Leninism to the Korean social reality Kim Il Sung insists that in the application of Marxism-Leninism in Korea it is the *general principles* of Marxism-Leninism that matter. It is not every word of it, pertaining to its Russian particularity, which must be swallowed. This is what he means by *applying Marxism-Leninism creatively*.³³



This application of the *general principles* or *fundamentals* of Marxism-Leninism to the Korean reality generates a philosophy *specific* to that reality as *its* reflection. Juche is the name given to the newly generated philosophy. With it, a particular set of principles becomes handy as a mirror of *Korean* society and its dynamics and serves as that society's guide to the analyses of *its* problems and challenges for their solutions. It should not then be difficult to understand that Juche emerges as a *particularity* of Marxism-Leninism which is also a *particularity* of Marxist

³⁰ Kim Il Sung, 'Report to the Third Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea on the Work of the Central Committee' April 23, 1956, *Works, Volume 10*, (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang, Korea 1982) p.261

³¹ Ibid

³² Kim Il Sung, 'On Intensifying Class Education for Party Members – Report at a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea' April 1, 1955, *Works, Volume 9*, (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang, Korea 1982) p.223. We find at p.211 'the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism' and 'progressive ideology of Marxism-Leninism' while at p.207 'holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism'. At p.227, see 'holding aloft the immortal banner of Marxism-Leninism'.

³³ Kim Il Sung, 'Report to the Third Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea on the Work of the Central Committee' April 23, 1956, *Works, Volume 10*, (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang, Korea 1982) pp.248-250. (All italics added)

universality; or, if you like, it is a particularity of a particularity of the universality.³⁴

There is the temptation here, in objection, to see Marxism-Leninism serving as a *universal* for Juche since the latter *emerges* from it. That would be philosophically incorrect. For, Marxism-Leninism *does not* apply to *every* society; it must if it should be a *universal*. It remains a *particularity*. Nevertheless, just as Marxism-Leninism contributes to Marxist universality in its *elaboration*, for instance, of the latter's political economy of capitalism so also does Juche contribute to Marxist-Leninist particularity in its critique and correction, for example, of the latter's political economy of socialism pertaining to working class control of the State.

Hence, we find ourselves in an intricate complex of the dialectics of universality and particularity. This complex presents to us a *web* of ideologico-philosophical systems not only for the fulfilment of the *independence* aspirations of all peoples but also for their mutually beneficial inter-dependence through *co-operation*.

This section of the present paper cannot be properly ended without attention being given to the scourge of dogmatism. The philosophical absurdity, together with its inherent organizational stalemate, that dogmatism inflicts on revolutionary processes and the consequent condemnations of it presents petite-bourgeois opportunists a means of checking the application of Marxism in the African polity. In our discussion above, we have sought to delineate the difference between universality and particularity. Even a less than a discerning person understands herein that dogmatism can only emerge from an uncritical *import* of *particularities*.

Kim Il Sung never gets tired renouncing, denouncing and combatting dogmatism in all aspects of Korean revolutionary life and struggles. Glimpses of that already appear in our references from his works above. In his struggles against dogmatism, he pointedly uses the phrase 'mechanically copying' in describing the damnable act. For those who are aware of what that means, being 'mechanical' is contrasted with being 'critical'; which latter is based on the scientific method of materialist dialectics. In a

³⁴ See Baik Bong, *Kim Il Sung – Biography III*, Dar Al-Talia, Beirut, Lebanon, 1973 for a strong presentation of Kim Il Sung's life as one informed consistently with the application of Marxism and Marxism-Leninism to the revolution and construction of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

report to the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea Kim Il Sung reproves dogmatism in set terms.³⁵

Hence, clearly and conversely, the *rejection* of other militants' experiences and works on the sheer grounds that they are *foreign* is mechanical as it is dogmatic. It is their critical revaluation from the standpoint of the specific concrete situation that is called forth before application or total rejection therein.

4

**The Correct Sense In Which Juche Is An Original
Revolutionary Philosophy**



Portrayed as a particularist philosophy in this paper, Juche might appear here to lose its status as an *original* revolutionary philosophy. An interpretation to that effect necessarily displays a definite lack of sophistication in dialectical materialist applications. For, apart from the Juche philosophy, we might ask, which other philosophy abstracts from the *Korean* revolutionary experience in its *specificity*? Juche does not need to *lose* its roots in any antecedent philosophical tradition to be understood and seen as an *original* revolutionary philosophy. Any anxiety to uproot it from its antecedent Marxist and Marxist-Leninist origins to prove its *originality* is unwarranted and misconceived. Juche finds its originality in the application of Marxism and Marxism-Leninism to the Korean reality to generate it. That is the correct and only sense of it being an original revolutionary philosophy.

This much is admitted in Kim Jong Il's speech that he delivers in 1983 on the occasion of the 165th Birthday of Karl Marx and the Centenary of his Death. In that speech, Kim Jong Il correctly states that 'Since revolutionary movements take place in difficult backgrounds and on different specific scenes, the communists in each country must apply the general principles of Marxism-Leninism³⁶ in conformity with the conditions of the times and specific realities of their country and develop the revolutionary theory in keeping with new requirements of the developing revolution. By founding the Juche idea *while showing the road to revolution through a creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the*

³⁵ Kim Il Sung, *Works, Volume 9*, pp.221-222 (All italics added). See also Kim Il Sung, *Works, Volume 10*, pp. 362-363 for a similar expression which includes a *historical* explanation of dogmatism.

³⁶ As observed previously, Kim Jong Il conflates Marxism with Marxism-Leninism. He uses them interchangeably to mean the same thing. All italics added.

realities of our country, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung paved the way to develop revolution independently.³⁷

Hence, to cite Juche as an instance of an *original* philosophy divorced from its Marxist and Marxist-Leninist antecedents to justify the traitorous attempt to divorce Nkrumaism from its Marxist roots to prove its *originality* is to display infidelity to the cause of the African Revolution in the shameful service of the parasitic interests of imperialism, neo-colonialism and capitalism. Apart from Marxism-Nkrumaism, there is no particular African revolutionary philosophy that abstracts from the African revolutionary experience and seeks to consciously guide the African Revolution. Taking advantage of Kim Jong Il's 1996 futile attempt to divorce Juche from Marxism and Marxism-Leninism and ignoring his 1983 speech to justify a similar attempt against Marxism-Nkrumaism is a conscious act of a traitor *par excellence*.

No serious student of Marxism fails to observe the difficulties and tensions in Kim Jong Il's 1996 effort to render Juche philosophy as one standing in *fundamental* opposition to Marxist philosophy. Only His Messianic Excellency in Revisionism, pretending to have his Marxism right, does just that. And we are here, therefore, compelled to bring out those difficulties and tensions in Kim Jong Il's volte-face against Marxist dialectical materialism in its use to construct the Marxist materialist conception of history. We trace such difficulties and tensions to Kim Jong Il's misinterpretation of the materialist conception of history as a construct of dialectical materialism in a *biological* sense where *man's will* is inoperative. We point out and dispute Kim Jong Il's claim to Juche's originality stemming from his ensuing observation that only within Juche is *man's will* installed in a conception of history or the law of history.

In straightforward terms, Kim Jong Il observes in his paper *The Juche Philosophy is an Original Revolutionary Philosophy* (Discourse Published in Kulloja, Theoretical Magazine of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, July 26, 1996) that there are the *law of nature* and the *law of society or history*.³⁸ Similarly, in the Preface to the American Edition of his *Condition of the Working Class in England*, Engels states that 'historical evolution has, like natural evolution, its own immanent laws' and thus differentiates between laws of nature and laws of history. Kim Jong Il observes that since man lives in the material world, that is nature, the latter impacts on man or society.³⁹ This impact relates to man's organic evolution in nature to the point where man attains the rational faculty capability of engaging in *social activity*. From that point onward it is the law of society that operates in man's life.

³⁷ Kim Jong Il, *Let Us Advance Under The Banner Of Marxism-Leninism And The Juche Idea – On the Occasion of the 165th Birthday of Karl Marx and the Centenary of His Death May 3 1983*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang, Korea, 1983, (<http://www.korea-dpr.com/>) pp. 2-6

³⁸ Kim Jong Il, *The Juche Philosophy Is an Original Revolutionary Philosophy* pp.3-4. 'A law of society' is the same as 'a law of history'.

³⁹ Ibid

In this respect, he asserts that 'Man's *social* attributes can take shape and develop *only* through the process of his emergence and development as a *social* being'⁴⁰, in other words, through the process of the historical development of *social activity* and his *social relationship*.⁴¹ Conceiving dialectical materialism as the Marxist law governing the material world, that is nature, Kim Jong Il claims that Marxism goes beyond bounce to apply this *law of nature* to the formulation of the materialist conception of history.⁴² This, he says, commits 'the founders of Marxism ... (to) seeing the socio-historical movement as a process of the history of *nature*'.⁴³

For him, therefore, the Marxist conception of history is all about *nature* where *man's will* is *irrelevant*. But this projection of the Marxist law of nature into the construction of the Marxist law of history or the materialist conception of history is without basis in fact; for, Marxism makes no such move. Kim Jong Il does not even provide us with a single reference in substantiation of this absurd position from any of the copious works of Marx and Engels. This is even strange when in 1983 he reverentially exclaims: 'Thanks to Marx's outstanding contribution, the working class could have their own scientific world outlook for the first time, understand the *law of social development* and see the road they should follow in attaining class emancipation and building a bright new society.'⁴⁴

Getting into further details, how does Kim Jong Il define the law of society. First, he says that 'all social laws work through *man's activity*'.⁴⁵ Second, *man's activity*, which constitutes the *social movement* and is used interchangeably with it so that the two mean the same thing, 'is caused and developed by the *volitional* action and role of the driving force'⁴⁶ which is recognized as 'the popular masses'⁴⁷. By 'volitional action', he means action based on

⁴⁰ Not as a *biological* creature or entity. Italics added.

⁴¹ Ibid p.7 Italics added.

⁴² Ibid Throughout his paper, Kim Jong Il provides no citation from any Marxist text to show that Marxism connects *biological characteristics* with the determination of *social attributes*.

⁴³ This is the entire statement: 'The world, viewed by the founders of Marxism when applying the general law governing the material world to social history, is an integrity of not only nature but also man and society in that they are material beings. If you consider man as part of the world, a material integrity, not as a social being with independence, creativity and consciousness, and apply the general law of the movement of the material world to social history, you cannot avoid seeing the socio-historical movement as a process of the history of *nature*.' Italics added.

⁴⁴ Is that 'law of social development' other than one fashioned on the basis of the materialist conception of history? Is there any suggestion here that that 'law of social development' derives from an application of a *law of nature* where man's will is irrelevant, not operational? Are we talking about *class emancipation* upon an application of a *law of nature*?

⁴⁵ Ibid. p.5 All italics are added.

⁴⁶ Ibid. p.4 Italic is added

⁴⁷ Ibid. p.3

man's will. Third, the law of society is differentiated into *general laws* which govern 'every society ... irrespective of social systems' and *particular laws* which govern 'a particular society'.⁴⁸ Here, he is talking about laws in their *universality* and *particularity*. We discern, up till this point, a *subjectivist* character of this law – that is, the projection of man through the exercise of his *will* as a freely and an environmentally *unconditioned* acting subject in the social process.⁴⁹

This is significant in that there is no reference made to the *objective circumstances* in which man exercises his *will*. Man is seen here as an unrestrained *subject* that acts on the world outside of him to transform it on the basis of his *will* without material constraints. His act is not *conditioned* by the surrounding environment. This is the sense in which we find the law of society, as stated by Kim Jong Il this far, as *subjectivist*. It expresses the essence of subjective idealism. But be not so fast. For, he holds that 'When I say that social laws function through man's activity, I do not deny the *objective character* of social laws and possible *spontaneity* in the *social movement*.'⁵⁰ He adds that 'Of course, society, too, changes and develops in accordance with a certain law, *not by man's own will*.'⁵¹ We are inclined to understand that at least one of the objective social laws operates 'not by man's own will'. It generates spontaneity.

Hence, this latter gives us a fourth element in Kim Jong Il's definition of the law of society. This time, however, it takes an *objective* character – it being *outside of man's will*. We are, thus, presented with a law of society that has a *dual* character of being at the same time both subjective and objective. The difficulty here is that Kim Jong Il's paper does not elaborate on how the law that operates to change society 'not by man's will' really functions. The dynamics are not explained beyond the assertion that this is so. All the same, since mention of 'objective social law' and 'spontaneity' is made in the *same* sentence we can fairly connect the two. That places spontaneity as 'not by man's will' and within the purview of the objective social law that operates 'not by man's will'. In fact, when he says that 'In nature the law works

⁴⁸ Ibid. p.5. The exact citation states that 'Some of the laws of society governs (sic) every society in general irrespective of social systems, and some of them governs (sic) a particular society.'

⁴⁹ Ibid. p.3 'Only on the basis of the clarification of man's essential qualities which distinguish man radically from all the other material beings can man's *outstanding* position and role as the *master* of the world capable of transforming the world be clarified. Only on the basis of man's essential qualities as a social being with independence, creativity and consciousness scientifically clarified by the Juche philosophy has the basic principle that man is the *master* of the world and plays the *decisive role* in transforming the world has been clarified.'

⁵⁰ Ibid. All italics are added.

⁵¹ Ibid p.5 All italics are added.

spontaneously regardless of man's activity'⁵² he rules out man's *will*, involved in his *activity*, from the process of spontaneity.

This understanding appears compromised by Kim Jong Il's attribution of spontaneity *in the social process* to partially absentee *subjective* and *objective* factors such as high level of man's independence, creativity and consciousness and a facilitative social system respectively: 'Spontaneity in the social movement is due to a relatively low level of man's independence, creativity and consciousness and to the absence of the social system under which the people can display them to the full.'⁵³ In this construct of Kim Jong Il's law of society – pertaining to this aspect where man's *will* does not operate, leading to spontaneity – it is difficult to see how independence, creativity, consciousness and a social system which are all predicated on *will*-based activities of man could be the operative factors to bring spontaneity to an end or to be associated with it at all. For, in the above quote, the suggestion is that with the *presence* of these enumerated elements there would be *no* spontaneity. So, after all, spontaneity involves *man's will*.

Effectively, therefore, we find in Kim Jong Il's hands a *law of society* perceiving a mish-mash of unconnected subjectivist and objectivist categories. A law of society that acknowledges one part of it to be based on man's *will* and the other part based *not* on man's *will* can find attraction only for the religious mind in superstition and never in philosophy and the sciences. And that is the philosophy type that His Messianic Excellency in Revisionism finds attractive as it resembles his equally Nkrumahist-Toureist mish-mash which is yet to be exposed in part two of this paper.

Kim Jong Il's failure to *connect* the subjective and the objective in the historical process, landing him in mysteries, constitutes an unsuccessful expedition – hinging on his strategic denial of *man's will* in the formulation of the materialist conception of history – to dissociate Juche philosophy from Marxism.

The difficulty in his construct of the law of society is due to his rearward philosophical move from the stance of the materialist conception of history that explains spontaneity *solely* in terms of the clash of individual *wills* within the material relations of production in the social process but not the *absence* of those *wills*. In Kim's formulation, the acknowledged objective law of society appears like a *mysterious force* effecting its changes in society *independently* of man's *will* to occasion spontaneity in the social process. And, yet, that *mysterious category* does not appear to be

⁵² Ibid All italics are added.

⁵³ Ibid

solely responsible for such spontaneity but shares that responsibility with factors⁵⁴ that are activated by man's will.

Let us see how Marxism explains the *nature* and *origin* of that apparently mysterious force. In a footnote above, we explain how Engels handles *spontaneity* as the clash of *wills* that leads to a resultant which the individual *wills* involved do not intend, to start with.⁵⁵ The series of resultants, in their *coherence*, present a spectacle of an *independent* force causing them since *no* individual *intended* them; when in point of fact it is the interacting individuals who, in Engels' words, *contribute* to those resultants.⁵⁶ In fact, those resultant events are *compromises* reached during the conflict and the compromises become the basis for future acts.

Basing future or subsequent actions on the said compromises is the manner in which *coherence* is attained.⁵⁷ So that the subjective *wills* of individuals generate an objective force⁵⁸ that then directs their activities. In other words, the *outcome* of individuals' *conflicting wills* appear as an *objective force* independent of those individuals and directing their activities behind their backs in the causation of events that they do not intend. What men, in their collective, create *naturally* then comes to control them. That is how the *connection* between the subjective and the objective in the social process is realized in the materialist conception of history.

Therefore, that *objective force*, emerging from and effecting *spontaneity* and *coherence* through a conflict of subjective wills, is the Kim Jong Il *mysterious force* which he does not explain at all in its operation or origin. Marx and Engels make a good job of that.⁵⁹ Spontaneity, for Marx and Engels, is then easily understood to get *eliminated* from the social process only when those individuals *unite* in their actions on the basis of *planning* within set material circumstances to realize the *intention* of their *common will*. That is

⁵⁴ We have already seen those factors enumerated by Kim Jong Il as man's independence, creativity, consciousness and the social system.

⁵⁵ For a more involved exposition on the Marxist position on 'will' see the section entitled 'The Role of Individual Will in the Foundation of the State' in Karl Marx, *The German Ideology*, p. 54-5 at website <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/1845-gi/ch03.htm> or Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, 'The German Ideology', *Collected Works, Volume 5*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, pp. 329-35 and pp.195-7.

⁵⁶ Preface to the Fourth German Edition of Karl Marx's *Capital*, Vol. 1

⁵⁷ Compare this to case law procedures in the court of law today.

⁵⁸ Once again compare this to judgments by a previous panel of disagreeing court judges *determining* new judgments by a new panel of judges. The old judgments stand as an *objective force*. Coherence in the set of judgments is then observed.

⁵⁹ We have here treated the Marxist concept of 'will' just to show that it operates in the materialist conception of history. At a deeper level of its examination we would find its being conditioned and determined by the material relations of production; for, at page 195 of *The German Ideology*, Marx talks about 'a will that was conditioned and determined by the material relations of production'. The individual will is not just exercised but exercised within material determinations.

when man regains control over his creation which today rather controls him. Kim Jong Il's double-faceted law of society, with one leg standing on man's *will* and the other leg mysteriously hanging where nobody knows, cannot explain this possibility.

Let us now consider another way in which Kim Jong Il empties the materialist conception of history of *man's will* in its formulation. In this respect, he tries to show how the Marxist use of the concept of '*social being*' is bereft of *man's will*. As such, the various meanings of '*social being*' rendered in Marxist discourse are reduced to *naturely* meaninglessness. All elements in the Marxist idea of '*social being*' are bungled up in dissociations in his hands. In this way, the Marxist aggregation of productive forces and production relations as social being or substructure of society is disentangled into substructure and superstructure, respectively. He thus talks of Marxism breaking 'down the social structure into productive forces and production relations, *foundation* and *superstructure*'.⁶⁰

Certainly, the implication of the citation is that Kim Jong Il equates productive forces with the *foundation*, that is the *substructure*, and relations of production with the *superstructure*. And he claims this as the Marxist delivery. But Marxism, as said, aggregates both the productive forces and production relations as the *substructure*; while, additionally, the *superstructure* aggregates political, socio-cultural and religious as well as other intellectual edifices. The Marxist position goes further to show how *within* the substructure the productive forces determine the character of the production relations; and how, finally, the superstructure emerges directly from the production relations. Alternatively, Marxism uses *social being* as *substructure* and *social consciousness* as *superstructure*.⁶¹

In their relations, then, Marxism asserts the determination of social consciousness by social being. This is where Kim Jong Il raises the red flag. His problem here is that he does not see *man's will* as operative *in* social being as defined to be constitutive of productive forces and production relations. He does not see that these forces and relations, within the Marxist construct, are developed by conflicting exercise of *wills*. His difficulty is that he does not appreciate the Marxist dialectical construct of man as both a *subject* and an *object* in the socio-historical process, man as

⁶⁰ Kim Jong Il, *The Juche Philosophy Is an Original Revolutionary Philosophy* p.4

⁶¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *op cit*, pp.35-37 Here, under Section 4, captioned 'The Essence of the Materialist Conception of History – Social Being and Social Consciousness', Marx and Engels give us an insight into the elements of and relations between social being and social consciousness. We find in their *Communist Manifesto* and Engels' *The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party* further discussion on this issue.

the *owner* of productive forces and who *utilises* his *labour-power*, an attribute of man within the productive forces.⁶²

He does not see that the created (the state of productive forces and production relations) comes to *condition* man's activity – a change of subject-object relations. His wonderment then is: how could that which is the creator (man) be also said to be part of his creation (productive forces and production relations)? The presence of *labour-power* and the *objectification* of this labour-power as *capital*, another component of the productive forces, elude him profoundly.⁶³

Yes, he does not see that the *conflicting wills* within the production relations in the latter's interaction with the productive forces give impetus to or retard the entire *mode of production* (another concept for 'substructure'). That is why he sees Marxian social being in terms of *nature* and, therefore, misunderstands the statement that social being determines social consciousness as an application of the *law of nature* to society. In his own law of society, he appropriates 'social being' jealously in reference to man *only*.

And this restricted use of the term 'social being' is motivated by a desire that seeks to divorce Juche philosophy from Marxism. He acknowledges as 'conventional' Marxism's broader application of 'social being' and objects to its use in *that way*. He sees that usage to be obscurantist, blurring the distinction that obtains between man, the creator, and the productive forces and production relations which he creates.⁶⁴ But his anxiety here should be calmed by the *fact* that Marxism, in its *other* meaning of the term, is in a *qualified* agreement with him.⁶⁵ For, man is truly a social being who exercises his *will*.

In this respect, an even cursory prying through the works of Marx and Engels shows the use of the concept of 'social being' in a sense that *apparently* restricts it to man and does not connote the

⁶² When Kim Jong Il says about Marxists that 'Since they regarded man as a component of productive forces, as the ensemble of social relations, the phrase social being they used implied man as well', he understands 'man' being used here as an *organic-biological* being, not as one exercising his *will*. (Kim Jong Il, *The Juche Philosophy Is an Original Revolutionary Philosophy*, p.8)

⁶³ Ibid. He states that 'In the theory of the Juche philosophy man is the only social being in the world. Some social scientists, however, still insist that social wealth and social relations should also be included in the social being, obscuring the difference between man and social wealth and social relations. Social wealth and social relations are created and developed by man. Therefore, they cannot be included together in the concept that defines man's essential qualities'.

⁶⁴ 'If we understand the social being in its conventional meaning when referring to the Juche philosophy, it will result in obscuring the understanding of man's essential qualities', he declares. Kim Jong Il, *The Juche Philosophy Is an Original Revolutionary Philosophy*, p.8

⁶⁵ That is, long before he states his.

more expanded delivery of it. In Marx's *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* by Progress Publishers (1959), Marx uses the term six times to refer to the 'individual' or 'man'. There is a single occurrence of it in his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* by Progress Publishers (1959) in the same spirit. In his *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* by Oxford University Press (1970) we see a double occurrence with the same meaning. Possibly, a few examples of *isolated excerpts* suffices here. We concentrate on only the works cited above but will immediately follow up with Marx's *Grundrisse* to show the point of divergence.

In the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, Marx states as part of a section that 'This relationship also reveals the extent to which man's need has become a human need; the extent to which, therefore, the other person as a person has become for him a need – the extent to which he in his individual existence is at the same time a *social being*.'⁶⁶ In *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, he also states that 'Everybody sells the particular commodity which he produces, but he buys all other commodities that he needs as a *social being*'.⁶⁷

Marx's *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* states that 'The principle of the civil class, or of civil society, is enjoyment and the capacity to enjoy. In his political role the member of civil society rids himself of his class, of his actual private position; by this alone does he acquire significance as man. In other words, his character as a member of the state, as a *social being*, appears to be his human character.'⁶⁸ After this, in the *Grundrisse* (1857), Marx qualifies and elaborates a little thus:

The more deeply we go back into history, the more does the individual, and hence also the producing individual, appear as dependent, as belonging to a greater whole: in a still quite natural way in the family and in the family expanded into the clan; then later in the various forms of communal society arising out of the antitheses and fusions of the clan. Only in the eighteenth century, in 'civil society', do the various forms of *social connectedness* confront the individual as a mere means towards his private purposes, as external necessity. But the epoch which produces this standpoint, that of the isolated individual, is also precisely that of the hitherto most developed social (from this standpoint, general)

⁶⁶ Check this from the 'Third Manuscript' of the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, Progress Publishers (1959), Moscow, in PDF format as republished by Marxist.org, p.43

⁶⁷ Check this from Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Progress Publishers (1959), Moscow, in PDF format as republished by Marxist.org, p.71

⁶⁸ Check this from Karl Marx, *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, Oxford University Press (1970), in PDF format as republished by Marxist.org, p.72

relations. The human being is in the most literal sense ... not merely a gregarious animal, but an animal which can individuate itself only in the midst of society. Production by an isolated individual outside society - *a rare exception which may well occur when a civilized person in whom the social forces are already dynamically present is cast by accident into the wilderness* - is as much of an *absurdity* as is the development of language without individuals living together and talking to each other.⁶⁹

This profound piece does not conceive of man or the individual as an abstraction that stands independently of society; but as a *real* being whose simple possession of *language* makes him a *social being* in the appropriate sense. Kim Jong Il's concept of man as one *emptied of the social forces that form him and distinguish him* from animals appears as an over-enthusiastic exaggeration of man's independence, creativity and consciousness. In spite of the fact that he places man in society there is something about his concept of social being that is overly unscientific and bothers on the idealistic; for, there is no scientific sense in which man can be conceived as a social being *apart* from *what* forms him.

The European who emigrates from Europe to America with Christopher Columbus is not in any way an abstract man. So also is the African who settles in America. This emigrant carries with him his *person* formed by accumulated social learning and experiences inherited and developed in the circumstances of his country of origin.⁷⁰ That is, even if he lands there as an individual without *tools* for developing and assuring his means of sustenance he has the *knowledge* and *experience* to use materials that he finds in his new abode *in consonance* with his former training in production or *social upbringing*. A baby deposited on American soil without any such *inheritance* is bound to live as an animal. Compare him with Robinson Crusoe. In spite of his initial

⁶⁹ *Grundrisse*. Introduction (1857) in *Selected Works of Karl Marx*, p.74 Italics are added.

⁷⁰ Interestingly, in the second paragraph of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852) Chapter 1, Karl Marx states in contradistinction to what Kim Jong Il claims for Marxism that 'Men make their own history, but *they do not make it as they please*; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances *existing already*, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living. And just as they seem to be occupied with revolutionizing themselves and things, creating something that did not exist before, precisely in such epochs of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service, borrowing from them names, battle slogans, and costumes in order to present this new scene in world history in time-honoured disguise and borrowed language.' (All italics are added) What is *biological* about this statement which reflects the materialist conception of history or historical materialism with man at the *centre stage* but operating *in inherited circumstances* that do not permit him to act as he pleases? This circumstanced man, holds Marxist philosophy, requires turning things upside down so as to enable him make history *as he pleases*; that is, his intention must correspond to what is realized through the exercise of his will.

loneliness Robinson Crusoe is a *social being* ('in whom the social forces [the aggregate of productive forces and production relations] are already dynamically present' – Marx) in that loneliness whereas our lonely baby is not.

Before we consider examples of tensions in his paper, Kim Jong Il says innocuously that 'The history of social development is the history of the development of man's independence, creativity and consciousness. This means that man's independence, creativity and consciousness are social attributes which are formed and developed socially and historically. Therefore, the philosophical consideration of man must start from the fact that man is a social being'.⁷¹

On the face of it no Marxist, who superficially knows his trade, disagrees with this. Only when this is exposed as an essential assertion that *ahistorically* projects man as a *perpetual subject* without ever being *subordinated* to his own creations from which he requires liberation to reassert his freedom and control over them would we see it as an *idealist* construct to prematurely⁷² place consciousness over being.

And this is a *particularity* of the Korean reality reflective therein of the superlative explosion of the subjective elements in the person of the Leader, the Party and the Popular Masses. The need for the Korean Revolution to defend its gains and self through rallying the masses of the people around its leadership, as represented in the Leader and the Party, is beyond question.

And who is that force of reaction that would not be shaken by the greatly impressive show of giant solidarity of the revolutionary people of the DPRK with their leadership? Standing a few steps away from the leadership at the stadium this author once observes President Kenneth Kaunda shed tears at this spectacle of popular acceptance. Such enviable reality stands tall in the history of socialist revolution and construction the world over.

But ... be *philosophically alert* and spare *philosophy* this superlative explosion lest a philosophical nonentity emerges as an

⁷¹ See Kim Jong Il, op cit p.7

⁷² We say 'prematurely' because in the era when man reassumes control over his own creations such that those creations no longer determine his behaviour and choices and he realizes his intentions as projected it would not be philosophically correct to assert the determination of social consciousness by social being but rather the determination of social being by social consciousness. In that case, the materialist conception of history would be required to take this changed circumstance into consideration for its own development. In our current state of subjection to natural or spontaneous social evolution, as appropriately understood, we have no philosophical right to turn the scales.

all-knowing Leader to spoil the game through closing his/her ears to the scientific voice of the Korean Marxist social scientist. Given the limitations of this paper, whereby we do not have the papers of the social scientists that Kim Jong Il refers to, we are unable to verify his claims against them.⁷³

For, a true social scientist, who can only be a Marxist, would not veritably stoop so low as to reduce historical materialism to solely *biological* determinations in socio-historical development. To do that is to place the *pace* of social change at the mercy of the *pace* of *biological* evolution; which act, in itself, is as retardant of the process of man's emancipation as it is unscientific – aborting man's *progressing* agency in *self-controlled* social change and as one exercising his *will*.

How consistent, then, is Kim Jong Il's law of society? His *The Juche Philosophy is an Original Revolutionary Philosophy* is one bundle of tension between acknowledgement and denunciation of the same. At page 2 of that paper, he declares that 'the Juche philosophy is an original philosophy which is *fundamentally different* from the preceding philosophy in its task and principles...You cannot explain the Juche philosophy in the framework of the preceding philosophy (Marxism) because it is a philosophy that has clarified new philosophical principles.' At page 1 he had stated that 'In explaining and propagating the Juche philosophy we do not need to convince people that the Juche philosophy is a new development of Marxist materialistic dialectics.'

This distancing of Juche philosophy from Marxist philosophy is then followed by an assertion that brings the two philosophies a little bit together when it is stated that Juche's approach to Marxist philosophy is not dogmatic but critical. That reminds us of Kim Il Sung's scientifically correct attitude towards Marxism and Marxism-Leninism. On Kim Jong Il's part, this is how he puts it at page 1: 'It is true that our Party has not taken a dogmatic approach to Marxist materialistic dialectics but analysed it from the point of view of Juche and has given new explanations to a number of problems.' Kim Il Sung would have said "but applied it critically to the Korean reality". There is no suggestion of rejection here.

⁷³ Baik Bong's *Kim Il Sung – Biography III*, which we have read in its entirety, does not support Kim Jong Il's claims. The book rather maps out Kim Il Sung's consistency in Marxist and Marxist-Leninist applications. It is here specially recommended to the reader who seeks to go beyond this paper to find out more directly about the application of Marxism and Marxism-Leninism to the Korean reality. The library of the Socialist Forum of Ghana (SFG) at the Freedom Centre in Accra has copies of all three volumes of the biography.

In case Kim Jong Il's statement above does not indicate the closeness between the two philosophies strongly enough there is a more powerful statement, in terms of its direct meaning, at page 2. And we quote it with our own italic emphasis thus: "The new outlook on the world established by the Juche philosophy dose (sic) *not* deny the world outlook of dialectical materialism. *The Juche philosophy regards the world outlook of dialectical materialism as its premise.*"

That is how the tension arises in Kim Jong Il's thought. For, having asserted a *fundamental difference*⁷⁴ with Marxist dialectical materialism in the latter's application for the construction of the law of history (the materialist conception of history) Juche, under Kim's authority, now makes *the same* Marxist dialectical materialism its *premise*, that is, its *foundation*.⁷⁵ Nobody hides from the truth forever!

Despite these philosophical aberrations in Kim Jong Il's *attempted reconstruction* of Juche philosophy we cannot deny Juche political philosophy's vital universal contribution, first, to Marxism-Leninism, and, second, to Marxist political philosophy. But this is better appreciated when Kim Jong Il's *inversion* of man's currently concrete position in socio-historical reality is once again re-inversed to stand it on its feet rather than on its head as it is in Kim Jong Il's scheme of philosophical affairs. In this regard, we consider the second paper that His Messianic Excellency in Revisionism directs us to: *The Historical Lesson in Building Socialism and the General Line of our Party*.

In its immediate construction, that paper – which is a talk to Workers' Party of Korea senior officials – is concerned with the problematics of revolution and construction *after* what it calls the establishment of the socialist system. In spite of its occasional

⁷⁴ Kim Jong Il, *The Juche Philosophy Is an Original Revolutionary Philosophy*, p.6

⁷⁵ Kim Il Sung, the Founder of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and of the Juche philosophy, as we have seen in this paper, does not mince words in appropriating Marxist philosophy as well as that of Marxism-Leninism as the basis of Juche philosophy. In fact, Kim Jong Il, probably unconsciously, establishes so strong a bond between Marxism and Juche as when he states additionally that 'The Juche view of the world that the world is dominated and transformed by man can *only* be established when the materialistic dialectical understanding of the world that the world is made of material and ceaselessly changes and develops is recognised. In spite of a number of limitations and immaturities of the Marxist materialistic dialectics, its basic principles are scientific and valid. That is why we say that the Juche philosophy regards materialistic dialectics as its premise.' See pp.2-3. So far, however, whatever 'limitations and immaturities' we find here are only located in Kim Jong Il's own lack of appreciation of how materialist dialectics is applied in the construction of the materialist conception of history and in his idealistic construct of a law of society in opposition to the Marxist law of society or historical materialism or the materialist conception of history. Is that Bob Brown in his innocence listening and listening well?

references to philosophical issues already dealt with above it could be seen to be pointedly focused on practical arrangements against the derailment of and in defence of the permanence of the Korean Revolution. But, just as in Kim Jong Il's ambivalence in philosophical exposition it also very much exhibits ambivalence on the issue of 'the dictatorship of the proletariat' in Marxist political philosophy.

Let us quickly purge ourselves of the ambivalence regarding the problematic of the dictatorship of the proletariat before we get to the main constructive issue. For, the ultimate position of Juche on that problematic defines for it the mode of the mobilization and organizational strategy in defence of the Korean Revolution. It is our quest here to indicate that in spite of the fact that the paper deals with such an issue regarding the *post*-revolutionary assumption of State power in the DPRK it teaches revolutionary forces in our *pre*-revolutionary theatres outside that country a vital lesson in *building* socialist revolution even *within* those theatres.⁷⁶

Concisely put, The Talk (let us refer to the paper as such) *rejects* the Marxist view of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist transition to communism and insists on the continued existence of the State even *under* communism – that is, it additionally rejects the possibility of the State *withering away* with the *maturing* development of the communist society and thereafter. This is in its first showing. In its second showing, conversely, it holds the dictatorship of the proletariat as *necessary* to rid socialist society of active class enemies of the working people. We try to resolve this ambivalence.

In respect of the dictatorship of the proletariat, therefore, The Talk defines the Marxist position in this way at page 14: 'Since it defined state power as a weapon of dictatorship for class domination, the preceding theory⁷⁷ identified the essential difference between the government of the exploiting classes and socialist government as lying mainly in the difference between their class character, and it considered that a socialist state would wither away once class domination was unnecessary after a classless society was built.'

It considers this view to be incompatible with the practice of socialist and communist construction; for, in socialist revolution the previous state is *destroyed* as a tool of *class domination* while the new state assumes the character of a *co-ordinating organ* for

⁷⁶ We need not await the assumption of State power before setting our lights on how to organize the working people in relation not only to production but also in relation to the revolutionary Party and the nascent State that it initiates. Lessons in the DPRK and Cuba are indispensable in this respect.

⁷⁷ That is, Marxism or Marxist theory.

the activities of the popular masses.⁷⁸ Here, we hear the authentic voice of Karl Marx addressing the International Workingmen's Association in May 1871 on the 'Paris Commune' when he says that 'The direct antithesis to the empire was the Commune. The cry of "social republic," with which the February [1848] Revolution was ushered in by the Paris proletariat, did but express a vague aspiration after a republic that was not only to supersede the *monarchical form of class rule, but class rule itself*. The Commune was the positive form of that republic.'⁷⁹

In the *Anti-Dühring*, Engels similarly puts it thus: 'The proletariat seizes state power and to begin with transforms the means of production into state property. But it thus puts an end to itself as proletariat, it thus puts an end to all class differences and class antagonisms, and thus also to the state as state.'⁸⁰ Lenin comments on this in his *State and Revolution* when he states that 'As a matter of fact ... these words briefly express the experience of one of the greatest proletarian revolutions, the Paris Commune of 1871'.⁸¹ In the translation of Engels' text that Lenin uses, we see 'abolish' used in place of 'puts an end to'. So that like The Talk after them, Marxists hold that the old state is abolished or destroyed.

Now, if The Talk asserts that after the abolition of the old state it is replaced by a new state with the character of a co-ordinating organ what do Marxists say in this respect? Engels here explains that the new state '*ultimately ... becomes the real representative of the whole of society*'⁸² where the 'government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and the direction of the processes of production.'⁸³ That is, if previously the state of a *class* represents the society *by default* then in the new state it is a real representation of the people that transpires – a state of the people

⁷⁸ *The Historical Lesson in Building Socialism and the General Line of our Party* P.14

⁷⁹ Italics are added. The next two paragraphs observe in continuation that: 'Paris, the central seat of the old governmental power, and, at the same time, the social stronghold of the French working class, had risen in arms against the attempt of Thiers and the Rurals to restore and perpetuate that old governmental power bequeathed to them by the empire. Paris could resist only because, in consequence of the siege, it had got rid of the army, and replaced it by a National Guard, the bulk of which consisted of working men. This fact was now to be transformed into an institution. The first decree of the Commune, therefore, was the suppression of the standing army, and the substitution for it of the armed people. The Commune was formed of the municipal councillors, chosen by universal suffrage in the various wards of the town, responsible and revocable at short terms. The majority of its members were naturally working men, or acknowledged representatives of the working class. The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary body, executive and legislative at the same time.'

⁸⁰ Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring (Herr Dühring's Revolution in Science)*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1979, p.362 Italics in last sentence are added.

⁸¹ V. I. Lenin, *State and Revolution – The Marxist Theory of the State & the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution* Online Version: Lenin Internet Archive (Marxists.org) 1993, 1999, p.12

⁸² Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring (Herr Dühring's Revolution in Science)*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1979, p.363 Italics are added.

⁸³ Ibid. Italics are added.

but not a class state.⁸⁴ Again, the position of The Talk corresponds with that of the Marxists. For now, that is where agreement ends.

It could be observed that Engels precedes his statement on ‘the real representative of the whole society’ with the word ‘ultimately’ to suggest that the state as a real representative of society is not an immediate event after the abolition of the old state. A transition period emerges before that occurrence. Marx dilates upon this in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* this way: ‘The question then arises: What transformation will the state undergo in communist society? In other words, what social functions will remain in existence there that are analogous to present state functions? This question can only be answered scientifically, and one does not get a flea-hop nearer to the problem by a thousand-fold combination of the word ‘people’ with the word ‘state’. Between capitalist and communist society there lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the *revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*.’⁸⁵

Engels explains the situation under this ‘revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat’ as one whereby ‘The interference of the *state power* in social relations becomes superfluous in *one sphere after another*, and then dies away of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and the direction of the processes of production. The state is not “abolished”, *it withers away*.’⁸⁶ In this transition, ‘The first act in which the state *really* comes forward as the representative of the whole of society – the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society – is at the same time its last act as a state’, Engels declares.⁸⁷ The example of the Paris Commune shows how the army and administration could be *abolished* and replaced by the armed people and others, respectively. Where the majority rules, a *special force* for repression becomes unnecessary.

The Talk, as already stated above, *renounces* the proletarian dictatorship in the transition as incompatible with socialist and

⁸⁴ Frederick Engels, *op cit*, p.362-363. Engels defines the state as ‘a special repressive force’ that is ‘of that class which in its time represented the whole of society’; it is ‘an organization of the exploiting class at each period for the maintenance of its external conditions of production, that is, particularly for the forcible holding down of the exploited class in the conditions of oppression (slavery, villeinage or serfdom, wage-labour) given by the existing mode of production.’ It is *this* state that is *abolished* with the proletariat seizing power. The state is *abolished* as state. The *exploitative* state type is abolished.

⁸⁵ Marx/Engels, *Selected Works*, Volume Three, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970 Italics are added.

⁸⁶ Frederick Engels, *op cit*, p.363 Italics are added.

⁸⁷ Frederick Engels, *op cit*. Italics are added.

communist construction. In fact, it goes further to state that 'The unified leading function of the socialist state should be further intensified as the building of socialism and communism progresses; this function will be needed in communist society as well. Therefore, socialist power will never wither away, and the matter of power will remain the most important matter not only at the stage of the socialist revolution but also during the whole historical period of socialist and communist construction.'⁸⁸

Interestingly, having rejected the exercise or the presence of the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat, The Talk proceeds at p.16 to proffer the advice that the socialist state exercises *dictatorship* to check growth of counter-revolutionary elements against the socialist process. Describing socialist society as a 'transitional society in which the class struggle continues', it advises that 'the state must exercise dictatorship over any anti-socialist elements.' It insists that 'If we weaken the *dictatorial* function of the government in a socialist society, which is transitional, we will fail to provide the people with democratic freedom and rights and to defend our revolutionary achievements, and we may endanger the socialist system itself.' In his *State and Revolution*, Lenin laments that the Commune did not exercise this power with enough determination.⁸⁹

The ambivalence is crystal clear and we only need to listen to Kim Jong Il in his speech *Let Us Advance Under The Banner Of Marxism-Leninism And The Juche Idea – On the Occasion of the 165th Birthday of Karl Marx and the Centenary of His Death May 3 1983* to close this matter. He states that

Guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory on the proletarian dictatorship, our Party established the people's government by creatively solving the question of state power to suit the conditions of a new era and thus contributed to enriching the historical experience of proletarian dictatorship.

People's government is a new type of the proletarian dictatorship which was born as required by the law of the revolutionary movement of the working class.

⁸⁸ *The Historical Lesson in Building Socialism and the General Line of our Party* P.14

⁸⁹ See V. I. Lenin, op cit, p.26-27 where he states that 'It is still necessary to suppress the bourgeoisie and crush their resistance. This was particularly necessary for the Commune; and one of the reasons for its defeat was that it did not do this with sufficient determination. The organ of suppression, however, is here the majority of the population, and not a minority, as was always the case under slavery, serfdom, and wage slavery. And since the majority of people itself suppresses its oppressors, a 'special force' for suppression is no longer necessary! In this sense, the state begins to wither away. Instead of the special institutions of privileged minority (privileged officialdom, the chiefs of the standing army), the majority itself can directly fulfil all these functions, and the more the functions of state power are performed by the people as a whole, the less need there is for the existence of this power.'

We can now only safely affirm that in concreto-real terms the Korean Revolution, in spite of affectations to the contrary, operates on the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat – with the Leader, the Party and the Popular Masses being the *subjective elements* exercising this dictatorship to clean Korean society of backward and betrayer characters and traitors to the cause of the Korean Revolution in particular and the World Socialist Revolution in general. It is the *principle* underscoring the *form* or *type* of this proletarian dictatorship that constitutes Juche's specific *concrete* contribution to Marxist and Marxist-Leninist political philosophy.

Let us now address that contribution which stands *in accord* with the corresponding Marxist theoretical principle.

That theoretical principle is abstracted from the Paris Commune experience that Marx analysed to Lenin's greatest admiration in the latter's *State and Revolution*. By that analysis, upon Lenin's interpretation, the bourgeois state that the Commune appears to have smashed is 'a special force for the suppression of a particular class' in observance of 'bourgeois democracy'; while its replacement, in observing 'proletarian democracy', is a state 'which is *no longer* the state *proper*'.⁹⁰ With this latter state it is the majority that suppresses the parasitic minority and, as such, does not require a *special* force for the purpose. On the heels of this understanding, Lenin explains that just as bourgeois states take *varied forms* but remain in *essence* bourgeois dictatorships so would proletarian dictatorships.⁹¹

In this light, *The Talk*, we observe, is a critique of the *form* of the Soviet system that erects a bureaucratic state (after the image of the bourgeois bureaucratic state) that does not integrate the working class and the popular masses in the new state system brought in by the October Revolution. The *form* that the proletarian dictatorship assumes in the Soviet Union essentially *alienates* the masses from the leadership and the Party. This assumes the content of a concrete dichotomy within the ranks of the revolutionary forces. It contrasts with the *form* that the Korean Revolution takes. Within the latter, the revolutionary forces – the Leader, the Party and the Popular Masses – are organized into a unity of mind and brawn with the character of the highest quality steel, i.e. with a more determined *Commune spirit*.

In the wake of what *The Talk* calls the frustration of socialism, leading to its setback in the Soviet Union and other countries, an attempt is made to understand what the cause of it might be. The

⁹⁰ V. I. Lenin, op cit, p.26 Italics added.

⁹¹ Ibid

Talk ascribes the cause to *internal* factors in the *main* and states that 'the basic reason for the frustration of socialism in some countries is that they did not put *the main emphasis on strengthening the motive force for building socialism and on enhancing its role*; they failed to understand the essence of socialism, of *centring* on the popular masses, the makers of history.'⁹² At page 6, the popular masses are described as 'the motive force'.⁹³ We notice that these same popular masses are also described as 'the makers of history' in this paragraph. Central to the diagnosis are the popular masses in their role.

The principle of the Commune Spirit, which Marx gleans from the Paris Commune experiment, as Lenin describes it,⁹⁴ finds concrete expression in the fact of the Korean Revolution.⁹⁵ The Talk gives a twentieth century concrete expression to it in the following way at page 2 (with our emphases):

The *essence* of socialist society, which differs from all exploitative societies, and the driving force which promotes the progress of the socialist society lie in the fact that the popular masses work in *comradely unity* and with a high degree of consciousness of being *masters* and displaying their ability as such. Therefore, the basic way to promote the building of socialism successfully is to *strengthen the motive force* of the revolution by educating the popular masses in a communist way by giving *priority* to the transformation of the people and by rallying them fully behind the Party, as well as to enhance the role of the driving force by giving the fullest play to the revolutionary enthusiasm and creativity of the masses. *There is no other proper way to promote socialist construction.*

This reliance on the popular masses and their fortification into a highly conscious and united force in socialist construction is the most fundamental principle that Juche philosophy singularly abstracts from the Korean Revolution in consonance with the

⁹² Korean Friendship Association, *The Talk*, p.1 Italics are added.

⁹³ We find on that page a reference to 'the popular masses, the driving force of social movement.'

⁹⁴ Lenin uses this term when, in his comment on Marx's analysis of the Paris Commune experience, he observes that 'Marx, however, was not only enthusiastic about the heroism of the Communards, who, as he expresses it "stormed heaven". Although the mass revolutionary movement did not achieve its aim, he regarded it as a historic experience of enormous importance, as a certain advance of the world proletarian revolution, as a practical step that was more important than hundreds of programmes and arguments. Marx endeavours to analyze this *experiment*, to draw tactical lessons from it and re-examine his theory in the light of it.' See *State and Revolution*, Chapter III, p.23. Italics are added.

⁹⁵ The Cuban Revolution, in spite of the over-half-a-century-old but now-defeated imperialist blockage of its revolutionary forces, stands in revolutionary comradeship with Korean revolutionary forces in the application of the principle of the Commune Spirit. This requires further and better particulars.

Marxist principle of the Commune Spirit in advance of world revolution.⁹⁶

The Talk gives us a positive illustration of the application of Marxist theory – as Kim Il Sung initiates to his eternal glory – to the Korean revolutionary effort. This is in spite of the fact that it exhibits affectations of having superseded Marxist theory. We find in its pages *no* such supersession apart from acts of theoretical inversion.

The *originality* of Juche philosophy resides *not* in its supersession of Marxism but in its being the first to correctly and successfully apply the *Marxist principle of the Commune Spirit* concretely after the Paris Commune of 1871 to the *specificity* of the *Korean reality* and to forcefully bring it to the attention of the world's socialist revolutionary forces. Other Korean Marxists had neglected that principle. Kim Il Sung emphasizes it.

And what he means by *originality* is the application of Marxist-Leninist theory to the Korean specificity. He contends that *random quotations* of Marxist-Leninist propositions in explanation and verification of Party policy is incorrect. He stresses the importance of 'theoretical amplification ... in the close context of the specific situation and the historical conditions in our country'. To do this, he adds, is to '*substantiate* the necessity and *originality* of the Party's policies'. By 'substantiation' Kim Il Sung implies the *confirmation* that that is how policy is generated by the Party.⁹⁷

It is clear from this that *originality* here has to do with dealing with the *specific* situation in the DPRK in its *concrete* manifestation in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory. For, with Kim Il Sung, relevant theory always means Marxist and Marxist-Leninist theory. Hence, for him, data, historically generated from the specific Korean

⁹⁶ Mao Tsetung, in his political report 'On Coalition Government' to the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China on April 24, 1945, also states that 'The people, and the people alone, are the motive force of world history.' See Mao Tsetung, *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Volume III, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1967, p.207. But Mao's concept of the 'New Democratic State' or the 'New Democratic Revolution' or the 'New Democratic Programme' (which renounces the 'dictatorship of the proletariat') is in substance different from the Korean concept of the people being the motive force of history. See pages 229, 235, 247 etc., where 'new democracy' is conceived as a programme of China's on-going 'bourgeois democratic revolution' under the direction of the Communist Party of China. The current divergent trends between the DPRK and China exemplify this difference. In spite of Mao's affectations, the 'new democratic state' represents a suspicious transition to socialism and communism. Juche definitely guides such transition. Reading 'On Coalition Government' in its entirety is an imperative.

⁹⁷ Kim Il Sung, 'On Some Problems In Improving Party Work – Talk to the Instructors and Higher Officials of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea' December 17, 1956, *Works, Volume 10*, (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang, Korea 1982) pp.361-362. All italics are added.

situation, are used within the Marxist and Marxist-Leninist theoretical framework to resolve that country's problems and set challenges. That is why he rejects dogmatism and formalism in the work of the Party and insists that 'in assimilating the experience of advanced countries or putting Marxist-Leninist principles into practice, one must always *apply* them creatively to fit the specific realities of the country, locality or village.'⁹⁸

The above suggests nowhere that the revolutionary efforts of the heroic people of the DPRK are undertaken *without* the application of Marxist-Leninist principles. On the contrary, it is a powerful testimony to their creative application to generate principles *specific* to the Korean reality. This is the sense in which we can comfortably talk of the latter principles being an *original* set that is derived from the specificity of the Korean concrete situation. This set matures as the Juche philosophy – a summation of the Korean *particularity*. Developing as a particularist philosophy, Juche, like other particularist philosophies as instanced by Maoism, authenticates the *Marxist universal principle of the Commune Spirit*.

Juche goes beyond that to provide us, *worldwide*, with additional specific, though subordinate, principles for an elaboration of the Commune Spirit. Hence, we can now, thanks to the Juche philosophy, study, develop and apply the Commune Spirit *more consciously* to quicken the world socialist revolutionary process to end imperialism, neo-colonialism and capitalism for the glorious reign of the long expected socialist transition to communism wherein the state finally dissolves. It is, therefore, not for fun that Comrade Kim Il Sung states at the head of this paper that

Establishment of Juche means that Marxist-Leninist theory is applied creatively to conform to the realities of the Korean revolution. We study Marxist-Leninist theory for the purpose of applying and developing it creatively to suit every stage of the Korean revolution. Carrying out the Korean revolution well means at the same time accomplishing a part of the world revolution. Therefore, establishing Juche does not in the least contradict but rather contributes to internationalism.

Whoever seriously attempts to divorce Juche philosophy from its Marxist and Marxist-Leninist roots deserves to have the citation above printed in indelible ink on their forehead so as to remind themselves every morning, when they stand in front of the mirror in the washroom, of what the Founder Leader of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea himself says about what he was doing. Do we take such a person's word for it, whoever they might be, or

⁹⁸ Kim Il Sung, "Tasks Of The Party Organizations In North Pyongan Province – Speech at a North Pyongan Provincial Party Conference, April 7, 1956, *Works* Volume 10, pp.119-121. Italics added.

that of the Initiator whose word is carried by fifty volumes of well-bound books? Tell us!

As a beneficiary of free copies of all those volumes it is not our duty to sit idly by while his word is turned upside down, even by his son, Kim Jong Il, who once speaks beautifully on the occasion of Marx's 165th Birthday and Centenary of his Death in 1983 and concedes that Juche is a critical application of Marxism-Leninism.

To end it all, for the benefit of His Messianic Excellency in Revisionism, we quote at length the following excerpt from *Kim Jong Il's* own concise history of Marxism (from Karl Marx and Frederick Engels through Vladimir Lenin to Kim Il Sung) and how Juche philosophy features in that history as presented in that speech; for, *Juche has no life outside Marxism*⁹⁹:

It is more than a century since the days of Karl Marx, the great leader of the international working class and the author of the scientific communist theory. Karl Marx made a great contribution to the liberation cause of mankind, and because of his immortal exploits his name is still enshrined in the hearts of the working class and peoples of all countries.

Marx's career was that of a prominent thinker and theoretician, a great revolutionary. It was he who ushered in the epoch of the international communist movement and made a radical change in the struggle for the freedom and liberation of the working class and the popular masses. Progressive mankind will remember forever his brilliant career and great services to the sacred revolutionary cause for the working class and other working people.

Marx's greatest contribution to mankind lies in the fact that he advanced Marxism which provided the working class with a powerful ideological and theoretical weapon of liberation struggle.

The revolutionary idea of the working class emerges as the reflection of the demand of the times and the aspirations of the popular masses.

In the first half of the 19th century capitalism developed rapidly in many European countries. As it flourished it harshly exploited and oppressed the working class. Therefore, the working class rose in the struggle against exploitation and oppression by capital.

The struggle required a revolutionary idea and theory as its guideline. The requirement was met by Marx when he, together with Engels, evolved Marxism which represented the aspirations and interests of the working class.

⁹⁹ Kim Jong Il, *Let Us Advance Under The Banner Of Marxism-Leninism And The Juche Idea – On the Occasion of the 165th Birthday of Karl Marx and the Centenary of His Death May 3 1983*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang, Korea, 1983, (<http://www.korea-dpr.com/>) pp. 2-6

Marx critically examined the contemporary progressive ideas and theories including the classic philosophy of Germany, the classic political economy of Britain and the Utopian socialist theory of France, and analysed the contradictions of capitalist society. On this basis he clarified the principles of dialectical and historical materialism, advanced the theories of surplus value, proved the inevitability of the downfall of capitalism and the triumph of communism, and turned socialism from Utopia into science.

Thanks to Marx's outstanding contribution, the working class could have their own scientific world outlook for the first time, understand the law of social development and see the road they should follow in attaining class emancipation and building a bright new society.

Basing himself on the analysis of the class relations of capitalist society, Marx defined that the working class was the most advanced and revolutionary class with a mission to abolish the domination of capital, put an end to exploitation of man by man once and for all and build a new, communist society. He elucidated that the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class would inevitably bring about the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Marxist idea on the class struggle and the proletariat dictatorship serve as a powerful weapon in the struggle of the working class to attain class emancipation and realize communism.

The establishment of Marxism was an epoch-making event in the revolutionary struggle of the working class. It led the working class and the labouring masses to a new era when they fought for freedom and liberation, for socialism and communism with scientific revolutionary theory, strategy and tactics.

Marx not only provided the working class and the other exploited working people with the weapon for their liberation struggle at the dawn of proletarian revolution, but also paved the way for it by personally taking part in the revolutionary struggle.

Marx energetically worked to link scientific socialism with the working-class movement, zealously struggled against capitalism for the liberation of the working class.

Marx proved the need to form a vanguard detachment of the working class in their revolutionary struggle, and exerted great efforts for the building of a party. He organized the Communist League and published the Communist Manifesto which he drew up together with Engels. Thus he initiated the communist movement of the working class who fought under the leadership of a revolutionary party with a scientific programme. The founding of the First International by Marx enabled the working class to wage the revolutionary struggle more energetically, cementing international solidarity.

The revolutionary cause of the working class has emerged victorious through fierce struggles against all class enemies. From the outset the bourgeoisie and their servants resorted to every means to exterminate Marxism with bitterest hatred. In the whole period of his revolutionary activity Marx uncompromisingly combatted bourgeois reactionaries and all

shades of opportunists, thus defending the revolutionary cause of the working class and paving the way for its triumph.

Long strides have been made in historical progress and radical changes effected in the appearance of the world since Marx's days. Marxian doctrine has been inherited and applied by the communists and revolutionary people of the world, and Marxism has consistently developed.

Lenin took over the cause of Marx and propounded Leninism by developing Marxism creatively to suit the new historical conditions in the period of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Thanks to Leninism the October Socialist Revolution emerged victorious and the first of proletarian dictatorship was born. Marxism-Leninism, the working class revolutionary ideology originated by Marx and developed by Lenin, gave a strong impetus to the revolutionary struggle of the international working class and the cause of the popular masses for liberation.

Today socialism has triumphed in many countries of the world and hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America have freed themselves from imperialist and colonial rule and oppression and are creating a new life. This is a great change made in the cause of communism, the revolutionary cause of the working class, and a historic victory won by the communists, revolutionaries and revolutionary peoples in many countries at the cost of their blood.

In a revolutionary movement of the working class, the leader plays the decisive role. As early as the initial period in the history of the international communist movement this valuable truth was proved by the activities of Marx. If Marx, the first leader of the working class, had not founded Marxism for the international working class, they would have groped in darkness, not knowing their mission, nor could have triumphed in their revolutionary struggles. If Lenin had not advanced Leninism, the theory, strategy and tactics of proletarian revolution in the age of imperialism, and aroused the Russian working class to struggle, the first socialist state in the world could never have appeared.

As it was the case with the communist movement in the past, so at the present and in the future, too, the revolutionary cause of the working class will advance triumphantly under the guidance of the leader.

In the days of Japanese imperialist colonial rule Marxism-Leninism heralded the dawn to the struggle of the Korean communists and people for national and social emancipation.

In the early years of his revolutionary leadership in our country, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung brilliantly pioneered the victorious path of the communist and national-liberation movements under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Since revolutionary movements take place in difficult backgrounds and on different specific scenes, the communists in each country

must apply the general principles of Marxism-Leninism¹⁰⁰ in conformity with the conditions of the times and specific realities of their country and develop the revolutionary theory in keeping with new requirements of the developing revolution.

By founding the Juche idea while showing the road to revolution through a creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the realities of our country, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung paved the way to develop revolution independently.

Need we say more on the correct sense in which Juche Philosophy is an original revolutionary philosophy – an *original application* of Marxism and Marxism-Leninism to the realities of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK)? Does the evidence not contradict what Kim Jong Il *now* says in 1996, thirteen years after his brilliant speech immediately cited above in excerpt and two years *after* his father passes on?

Nobody should dare confuse protagonists of the African Revolution with their conscious ill-intentioned acts of aborting the application of Marxism to the African social reality. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has shown the way with his Marxism-Nkrumaism. Let us develop his work but not get distracted from it with an *anaemic* and *legless* Nkrumahism-Toureism championed by His Messianic Excellency in Revisionism in the fold of the A-APRP (GC).

Ours is Revolutionary Pan-Africanism under the great banner of Marxism-Nkrumaism in service of the proletarian socialist African Revolution!

Be Focused, Determined and Bold!

Forward Ever!

Onward to the African Revolution!

Izwe Lethu!

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¹⁰⁰ As observed previously, Kim Jong Il erroneously conflates Marxism with Marxism-Leninism. He uses them interchangeably to mean the same thing. All italics added.

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